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# INDIANS OF QUEBEC AND THE MARITIME PROVINCES



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**INDIANS OF QUEBEC AND  
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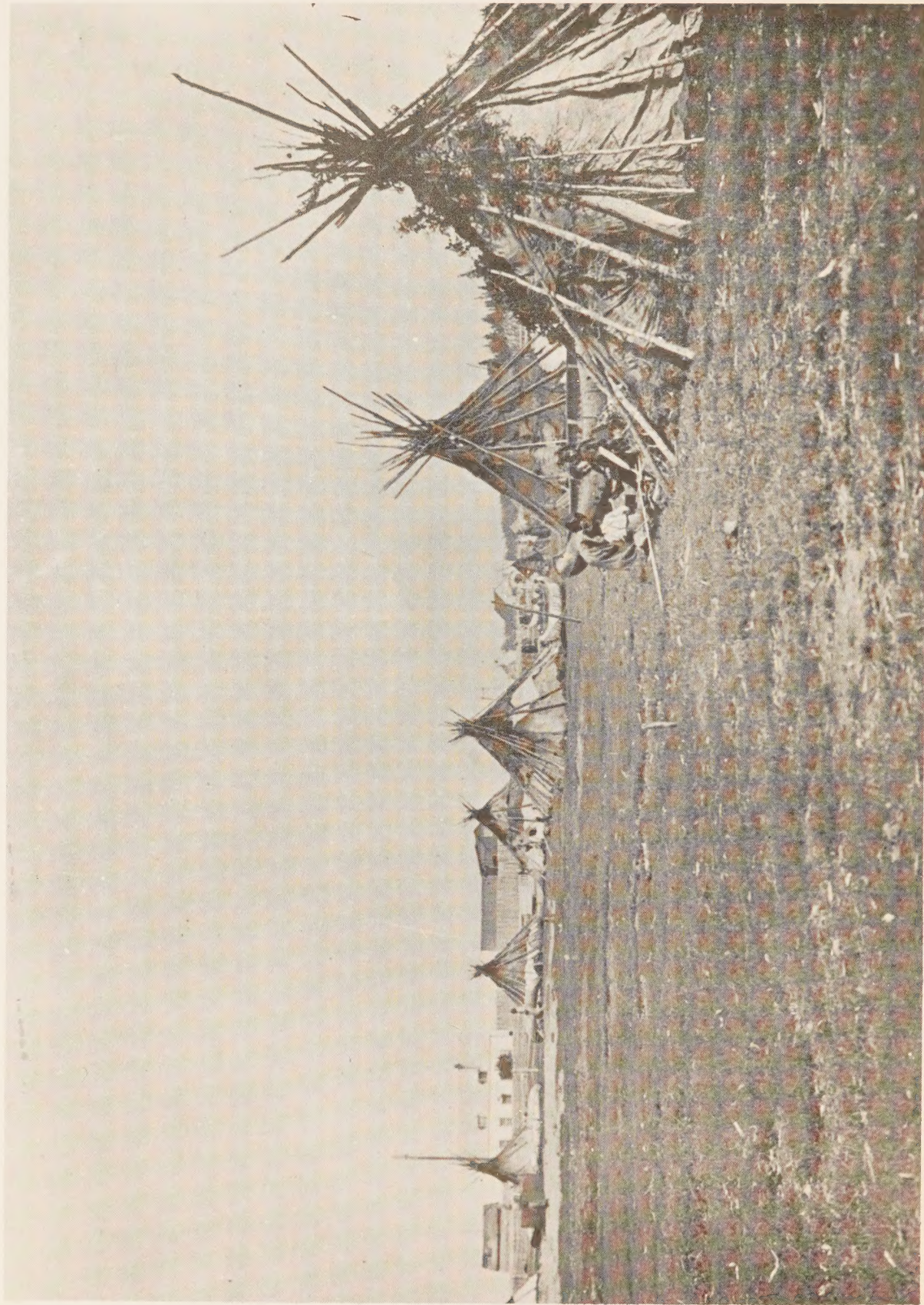
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Eastern Cree Indians



## INDIANS OF QUEBEC AND THE MARITIME PROVINCES

When European explorers first began to arrive in the New World, the Maritime Provinces and most of Quebec were inhabited by migratory tribes speaking a variety of Algonkian languages. These were the Beothuk, Micmac, Malecite, Naskapi, Montagnais, Algonkin and Cree Indians. In addition an Iroquoian tribe, probably Mohawk, lived a more or less settled agricultural life along the banks of the St. Lawrence River.

The Beothuk Indians, all of whom lived on the island of Newfoundland, numbered about 500 persons when the island was discovered by John Cabot in 1497. They were sometimes called "Red Indians" because they smeared red ochre on their bodies and clothing for religious reasons and as a protection against insects. They lived in bark wigwams, sleeping in trenches lined with pine or fir branches, and had huts covered with skins and heated with hot stones, which they used for taking steam baths. They used harpoons to spear seals from their birch bark canoes. They had no pottery, cooking their food in birch bark vessels filled with water and red hot stones. Strangely shaped bone ornaments, etched with designs, have been found in their graves. In their social organization, they were divided into small bands of closely related families, each with a headman.

In the early days of colonization the European fishermen who settled on the shores of Newfoundland were apparently apprehensive of the Beothuk and fired on them at every opportunity. Also, hostile Indians from the mainland crossed over to Newfoundland and preyed on the Beothuk. The latter could not retaliate since their only weapons were bows and arrows, ineffective against the firearms in the hands of their enemies. The Beothuk are now extinct, the last known survivor having died at St. Johns in 1829. The story of their passing is one of the saddest in the annals of Canadian history.

The Micmac Indians occupied Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, the northern portion of New Brunswick, and part of the Gaspé Peninsula. They hunted moose, caribou and other woodland game throughout the winter and moved to the seashore in spring to gather shellfish, to fish at river mouths and to hunt seals along the coast. They lived in conical birch bark wigwams and used birch bark to fashion canoes and household utensils. They cooked their food in large wooden troughs and clay pots.

Clan units were the basis of Micmac social organization, each clan having its own symbol which was tattooed on the bodies of members, painted or embroidered in porcupine quills on the clothing, carved into ornaments or painted on personal possessions. The symbol of one clan was a cross, much to the surprise of early missionaries. Marriage and funeral rites were observed with great solemnity and chiefs were installed with elaborate ceremonies. A youth had to prove his manhood by killing a moose or a bear before he could take part in tribal councils. •

The main duty of the Micmac chiefs was to assign hunting territories to the various families. Leaders in wartime were men who had distinguished themselves in intertribal fighting. The Micmacs fought with Algonkian tribes to the south, Iroquoians to the west and Montagnais and Eskimo on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Their weapons were stone tomahawks, bows and arrows, moose-bone spears with two-edged blades and bone or stone knives. Women and children captured in war were absorbed into the tribe but male prisoners were put to death.

The Malecite Indians lived in New Brunswick westward from the St. John River. They belonged to the Abenaki Confederacy, a loose confederacy of several Algonkian tribes to the south, which supported the French against the New England colonists and the league of the Iroquois. The customs of the Malecite closely resembled those of the Micmac. However, they differed in dialect and were politically independent of the latter, being sometimes even hostile to them. The Malecite put less dependence on fishing and hunting than did the Micmac and raised large crops of maize, especially along the St. John River.



Apart from a narrow strip of the coastline controlled by the Eskimo, the Naskapi inhabited the Labrador peninsula and that part of Quebec east of a line from Seven Islands to Lake Nichikun and then to Ungava Bay. The Montagnais inhabited the territory bounded by the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence between the St. Maurice River and Seven Islands, and by the divide of waters between the St. Lawrence River and James Bay.

The Naskapi and Montagnais were migratory peoples, gaining their livelihood by hunting and fishing. Their dialects and customs were very similar, the only differences between them arising from dissimilarities in environment. The Montagnais lived mainly in a well-wooded area abounding in moose which they hunted in winter. In the spring they moved to the river mouths to spear salmon and eels and to harpoon seals. Their dwellings were conical wigwams covered with birch bark. The Naskapi lived mainly on an open plateau covered with grasses and lichens, the natural food of the barren ground caribou which they hunted from midsummer until early spring. Some of the Naskapi then moved to the coast as did the Montagnais, while others fished in inland lakes and rivers and hunted hares, porcupines and other small game. Their wigwams were covered with caribou skins.

In the south the Montagnais wore the same costume as did the Indians of the Maritimes provinces, consisting of a robe, breechcloth, leggings and moccasins. They went bareheaded in winter, wearing detachable sleeves to protect the arms. Farther north the Montagnais and Naskapi wore a tailored shirt, as did the Eskimo, fitting it with a hood for winter use. These shirts were printed in red geometrical designs by stamps carved from bone or antler.

Both the Montagnais and Naskapi Indians were divided into small bands, interrelated by marriage but politically distinct with each band claiming separate hunting grounds. Band chiefs were usually chosen for their hunting ability but had little real authority beyond acting as advisors. In the wars of the Montagnais against the Micmac and Iroquois the plan of campaign was decided by a general council of warriors. There was a minimum of leadership during battle although some order of attack was established before the clash began. Montagnais weapons were clubs, spears, bows and arrows, and knives. They fortified their camps with barricades of trees and some used moosehide shields or wooden coats of mail. The Naskapi used the same weapons to fight their only foe, the Eskimo, whose women they sometimes took as wives.

There was no formal marriage ceremony among the Montagnais and Naskapi but the son-in-law had to serve his wife's parents for a year before he could take his bride home. The women carried their babies in bags rather than wooden cradles and little girls in the north played with dolls.

The Montagnais and Naskapi had a vague belief in a great sky god to whom they sometimes offered smoke from their pipes. They were more concerned, however, with a multitude of supernatural beings which they believed surrounded them and dwelt in the souls of the animals which were their food. They observed taboos to avoid offending the animals and their medicine-men were expected to prevent attacks from malicious spirits and human witchcraft. In order to impress their followers the medicinemen would allow themselves to be tied up with strong leather thongs, then free themselves by jugglery and throw away the thongs.

West of the Montagnais lived the Algonkin Indians, who resembled the former in customs to some extent. They were few in number and were scattered in small bands over a large wooded area, hunting and fishing for food.

The Cree Indians in Quebec lived in a northern area extending from the James Bay coastline to Lakes Mistassini and Nichikun, and from the Eskimo land in the north to the Algonkin territory in the south. In the more southerly regions they lived in conical bark wigwams but farther north the wigwams were covered with pine bark or caribou skin. Those in the James Bay area used soapstone pots for cooking their food, an Eskimo custom, and they had curved knives for scraping skins. Like the Naskapi, the Cree Indians in Quebec wore coats and blankets of woven hare skin or caribou fur.

In the Cree economy hunting was preferred to fishing and the favourite game was caribou, moose, bear and beaver. In winter when these animals were scarce many bands subsisted on hares which they



caught in willow-bark snares. Since hares are subject to a natural cycle of increase and decrease, the Indians underwent periods of famine sometimes resulting in starvation and death. As a food supplement the Cree used ducks and geese during spring and autumn and grouse and ptarmigan in the winter.

The Cree social units were the bands and the families. They followed the general marriage custom of eastern and northern Canada, in which the husband served his father-in-law for a time. Adolescents endured a term of fasting in seclusion which led to the visionary appearance of spirit guardians. Widows and children were well cared for but old people who could no longer keep up on the march had to be left to their own resources. The dead were buried in the ground with ceremonies of lamentation and an annual feast was held in their honour.

Witchcraft was so feared by the Cree that conjurers had more influence than did band chiefs. There were many taboos and hunting customs were strictly observed in order not to offend the spirits of the game. Each hunter carried a medicine-bag to help him in the chase and the hides secured were ceremonially decorated with stripes and dots of red paint.

Iroquois Indians occupied the land on the south bank of the lower St. Lawrence when Cartier explored the country in 1535, but sixty-eight years later when Champlain arrived Algonkian bands had displaced them. The Iroquois lived an agricultural life, raising corn, beans and squash which they had brought from the south, and were settled in palisaded villages, one of the largest being Hochelaga on the site of the present-day Montreal. In later years many Iroquois under influence of the Jesuits returned to live in Quebec and their descendants are found at Oka and on the Caughnawaga and St. Regis Reserves.

The Huron Indians, who originally lived in the vicinity of Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay in what is now Ontario, were driven from their land by the Iroquois in 1648-49. Some of the Hurons found refuge with the French at Quebec and their descendants live today on the Lorette Reserve near that city.

### COMING OF THE EXPLORERS

The first recorded European voyage to Canada was made by John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497 under commission from King Henry VII of England. The Cabots reached the coast of Newfoundland, then sailed south and landed on Cape Breton Island. On their return to England they described the coastal waters of Newfoundland as "covered with fishes which are caught not only with a net but with baskets" and so numerous that they almost stayed the progress of the ship. In the years that followed, fishermen from the Atlantic coasts of England, France, Spain and Portugal began making regular voyages to Newfoundland, Cape Breton and the mainland to harvest the fish. Fishing stations were established in order to dry and salt the fish, and Indians gathered at these stations to see the strange-looking white men with their knives, blankets and clothing. For these European goods they began to trade their furs and beaver robes, which were highly prized in Europe.

In 1534 Francis I of France commissioned Jacques Cartier to make a voyage of exploration to the new world. With a crew made up of fishermen, he sailed along the coast of the Atlantic provinces and into Chaleur Bay. There the explorers came upon a band of Micmacs in forty or fifty canoes and were much alarmed until the Indians indicated that they wished only to trade. In the exchange that followed the French came away with many valuable furs giving in return a few knives, tools, articles of clothing and trinkets.

Cartier continued to Gaspé, where he met a band of Iroquois who had come from the upper St. Lawrence to catch mackerel and were very interested in the bearded white men. In regard to the Indians Cartier wrote, "Their whole clothing consists of a small skin with which they cover their loins; they also put old skins above and across their bodies... They have their heads completely shaven except a lock on the top of the head, which they allow to grow as long as a horse's tail; they tie it to their heads with small leather cords. Their dwellings are their canoes, which they turn upside down, and lie down under them on the bare ground. They eat their meat almost raw, merely warming it over the coals, the same with fish".



The Frenchmen visited the Iroquois encampment where they were welcomed with singing and dancing, and delighted the Indians with gifts. The next day they induced some Indians, among them Taïgnogny and Domagaya, two sons of the chief, to board their vessel, and sailed away to France.

In May 1535 Cartier sailed again for the New World with three ships and a large company including Taïgnogny and Domagaya to act as guides and interpreters. They sailed up the St. Lawrence River as far as Stadacona, now Quebec, where they were warmly welcomed by the chief, Donnacona, and taken to visit the Village. Later the voyagers ascended the river to Montreal although the Indians of Stadacona tried to prevent this visit and Taïgnogny and Domagaya refused to act as pilots. At the island of Montreal at least 1,000 men, women and children crowded the shore, dancing, singing and shouting a welcome to the white men. The Iroquoian town, Hochelaga, situated on what is now the main business section of Montreal, was strongly fortified, having well-built dwellings surrounded by palisades. Surrounding the town was cultivated land with large crops of corn.

Cartier soon returned to Stadacona where he spent a difficult winter, plagued by scurvy. He sailed for France in the spring, taking with him Donnacona, Taïgnogny, Domagaya and seven other chiefs, as not unwilling captives. Unfortunately, the Indians all died in France before Cartier's third voyage.

Cartier's third voyage was in 1541. The expedition was under the command of the Sieur de Roberval, who was authorized to build forts and commence a settlement in Canada. Roberval's preparations were delayed and he instructed Cartier to set sail in advance. Cartier left St. Malo on May 23, 1541, and reached Quebec three months later. Finding the inhabitants hostile, Cartier built a fort at Cap Rouge nine miles from Stadacona. There he planted a crop and spent the winter surrounded by the unfriendly Indians. In the spring he set sail for France, meeting Roberval and his party at Newfoundland. Roberval's attempted colony ended in failure and he returned to France the next year.

Although for many years after Cartier's voyages official French interest in Canada waned, fishermen and fur traders continued to visit the New World. Fishing stations on the shores of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Gaspé and the Gulf of St. Lawrence were occupied by fishermen for weeks and months at a time and Indians came down to barter furs for European goods. Gradually the French fishermen established Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay River as a fur trading station. From there French goods were carried by Indian middlemen up the Saguenay and down the St. Maurice, the Gatineau and the Ottawa Rivers to the Montagnais, the Algonkins and even the Hurons of Georgian Bay.

In turn furs were carried back to the French station. Beaver hats became a status symbol in Europe and the Indians craved European manufactured goods including awls, knives, kettles, hatchets and muskets. Thus the fur trade developed, grew and flourished, until the competition became so great by the end of the 16th century that a system of monopolies was necessary.

### COLONIZATION OF ACADIA (1604-1763)

A fur trading monopoly was granted to a company headed by Sieur de Monts who had already visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence and knew something of the trade. He set out in 1604 accompanied by Samuel de Champlain, the Baron de Poutrincourt, and a company including soldiers, skilled workmen and colonists. After exploring the coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the party decided to spend the winter on St. Croix Island between New Brunswick and Maine. The winter was discouraging with an outbreak of scurvy claiming more than 25 lives. In the spring the survivors moved over to Port Royal and set up a post there, the first permanent European settlement in Canada. De Monts lost the monopoly of the fur trade in 1607 but Poutrincourt remained at Port Royal and kept the little colony alive. The surrounding country was given the name "Acadia".

Port Royal grew slowly, suffering many reverses. However, the Indians were friendly to the colonists and taught them much of their own crafts, particularly the making of such things as snowshoes and birch bark canoes. The Micmacs, or "Souriquois" as they were then called, constantly visited the small settlement. They brought presents of venison and game in addition to the skins of beaver, otter and moose, which they brought for barter.



The grand sagamore of the Micmac nation from Gaspé to Cape Sable was the chief Membertou, who lived to be over 100 years old and had seen Cartier when he visited Chaleur Bay. He was renowned for his bravery, physical strength and diplomacy and was loyal and trustworthy to the French. During a temporary abandonment of Port Royal by the French, Membertou and his people took good care of the buildings until they were re-occupied.

In 1610 Poutrincourt received the grant of the seigniory of Port Royal but in 1613 Captain Samuel Argall, commanding an expedition from the British colony in Virginia, looted and burned the settlement. Following this set-back Poutrincourt returned to France. However, his son, Biencourt, with Charles de la Tour and some of the colonists, remained in Acadia hunting, fishing and trading with the Indians. They partly rebuilt Port Royal and when Biencourt died de la Tour was left in charge of the settlement.

There followed a period when control of Acadia moved back and forth repeatedly through French and British hands. During this time settlers were brought in and trade was continued with the Indians by whichever side held power. In 1636 Nicolas Denys became French governor of the eastern coast of Acadia where the only white inhabitants at first were a few fishermen and Jesuit missionaries. He built forts at Chedabucto (Halifax) and on Cape Breton Island. Denys had a large trade with the Indians and later established trading posts at the mouths of the Nipisiguit, Miramichi and Richibucto Rivers. (In 1688, Richard Denys, son of Nicolas, wrote that 500 Indians were living in eighty wigwams along the Miramichi River.) The first English trading post in Acadia was established by Sir Thomas Temple in 1659 at the mouth of the Jemseg River in New Brunswick.

In 1687 Minneval of France was appointed governor of Acadia and the next year war again broke out with the British in which the Micmacs and Malecites took the French side. Three separate expeditionary forces, composed largely of Indians from Canada and Acadia and commanded by young French Canadians, made winter raids on the New England settlements. In retaliation the New Englanders sent out a fleet commanded by Sir William Phipps which captured Port Royal in 1690 and took Governor Minneval prisoner.

Governor Minneval's brother, Villebon, came to Acadia to take command of the French forces and held a preliminary conference with the Indians at Fort Jemseg shortly after his arrival. In 1691 he was appointed governor, made his headquarters at Nashwaak on the St. John River, and proceeded to organize war-parties of Indians to raid English frontier settlements. Great war-parties of Micmacs and Malecites gathered at Fort St. Joseph on the Nashwaak where they were feasted and supplied with ammunition to harass the British frontiers. In 1696 Fort William Henry in Massachusetts was captured by 100 French and 400 Indians. The British retaliated by sending out a force of 500 men led by Benjamin Church, which burned and pillaged Chignecto. By the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, Acadia was left in the hands of the French.

For a long time there had been a large Indian village at Medoctec, on the St. John River, where the Malecites had cultivated corn long before the arrival of Europeans. Many *coursur de bois*, who had come from Quebec under French auspices, lived with them. In 1694 a pestilence wiped out more than 120 of the Indians, including the chief and some noted warriors. This caused the rest to scatter and temporarily abandon their village.

After the Treaty of Ryswick, Governor Villebon moved his headquarters to an old fort which had been established by de la Tour at the mouth of the St. John River. Following his death in 1700, the seat of government was moved to Port Royal. The inhabitants of the St. John Valley, thus left vulnerable to British attack, moved to Quebec or Port Royal, leaving the country to the Indians.

Despite the pestilence at Medoctec the Malecite villages remained generally strong. Also, the Malecites continued to be extremely hostile to the British. With this in mind and with the withdrawal of their settlers from the St. John River Valley, the French considered the Malecites as a major defence against possible British attack on Quebec. Every effort, therefore, was made by the French to retain the Indians' loyalty.



In 1702 war was declared by England against France and a conflict of ambushes and surprise raids began in America. In the ensuing years the Indians roamed the country and kept the New England frontier in a state of constant anxiety. However, in 1710 the British captured Port Royal and although scattered bands of Indians and French carried on guerilla warfare for the next three years, most of Acadia was ceded to England in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht. Acadia became "Nova Scotia" and Port Royal was renamed "Annapolis Royal".

Notwithstanding the Treaty of Utrecht, Cape Breton and Île St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) remained in French hands. In 1713 Cape Breton was inhabited by one Frenchman and thirty families of Indians. The place was renamed Île Royale and the French started a colony composed principally of fishermen and their families from Newfoundland. Louisburg, on Île Royale, was fortified as a French stronghold from 1720 onwards and became an important trading centre for Europe, the West Indies, Quebec and New England. A few New Englanders moved into Nova Scotia and New England fishermen frequented the coast in large numbers during the spring and summer.

Île St. Jean was, in prehistoric times, largely a summer camping ground for the Micmac Indians who migrated inland in winter and back to the sea coast in summer. Early fishermen and traders used its shores for landing and drying fish but no official interest was taken in the island until around 1720. The first attempts at settlement ended in failure. However, regular immigration began in 1728 with seventy-six families of Acadians who wished to settle on French territory. The few Indians of Île St. Jean who lived there permanently did not become involved in the wars that raged in the rest of Acadia. After the fall of Quebec in 1763 most of the Acadian inhabitants of Île St. Jean returned to France or made their way to Nova Scotia or Quebec. Île St. Jean then was placed under the government of Nova Scotia.

When the British began to move into the country east of the Kennebec River after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Indians upheld their claim to the land, denying any British right therein. The French at Quebec encouraged the Indians and in 1722 a three-year war broke out between the people of New England on the one hand and the Passamaquoddy Indians of Maine and their Malecite allies on the other. At the same time the Micmac Indians made attacks on various sites in Nova Scotia which included a raid on Annapolis Royal in 1724.

The Indian War ended in 1725 and "Articles of Submission and Agreement" were signed at Boston on December 15, 1725, by four chiefs representing the New England and Nova Scotia Indians. These Indians recognized the sovereignty of the British Crown over Nova Scotia and the articles were subsequently ratified by other Indian groups. In May 1728, Malecite Indians from the St. John River assembled at Annapolis Royal and ratified the peace concluded at Boston.

When war broke out between France and England in 1755 the Indians again allied themselves with the French, attacking Annapolis Royal and other points. The treaty of 1725 was renewed at Halifax on August 15, 1749, and ratified the following month at the St. John River by the Indian chiefs on the district.

While Cape Breton and Île St. Jean were being colonized by Acadians who wished to live on French soil, and other Acadians were moving north of the Bay of Fundy, the British founded Halifax in 1749 and the government was transferred there from Annapolis Royal. During the next few years large numbers of colonists came from Germany and settled in and around the town of Lunenburg. French agents began circulating among the Indians, influencing them against the British and the new settlers in a final struggle for Acadia. The Indians became so hostile to the settlers that any movement beyond the limits of the town was dangerous. Settlers near Halifax were also threatened and in the spring of 1751 there was considerable loss of life at Dartmouth. From the Indian point of view, they were fighting for their traditional interests and against what they considered as encroachments by the settlers.

In 1752 further negotiations were carried on between representatives of the British Crown and a number of Micmac Indians under the leadership of Jean Baptiste Cope. This culminated in the signing of a treaty at Halifax by which the previous articles were confirmed, and some additional terms agreed



upon. The Indians were to have free liberty of hunting and fishing as usual. A truck house (trading establishment) was to be built at the Shubenacadie River, where they could sell their goods to the best advantage. Arrangements were made for a half-yearly distribution of bread, flour and provisions, and an annual renewal of friendship accompanied by a distribution of presents of blankets, tobacco, powder and shot.

In 1755 there was a mass deportation of the remaining Acadians from Nova Scotia and the following year the Indians renewed hostilities against the British. Isolated settlements were particularly hard pressed in the ensuing conflict. The British Governor, Lawrence, employed "rangers" (native American woodsmen trained in bush fighting) against the Indians but with little effect.

In 1758 an expedition was sent out from Louisburg by General Wolfe to destroy all the hostile Indian settlements. However, the expedition demolished only a single village, and burned the Micmac Church at Eskinwobudich, an Indian village and mission on Miramichi Bay. The village, later renamed Burnt Church, is now recognized as an historic site.

The cession of French power at Quebec in 1759 was soon followed by the submission of the Indians of Nova Scotia. On January 9, 1760, Roger Morris and four other Indian leaders appeared before the Legislative Council to make peace on behalf of a large number of Micmacs. In February the chiefs of certain Malecite and Passamaquoddy Indians came in to renew the treaty of 1725. One band after another followed in the process, culminating with a grand pow-wow in the Governor's garden in 1761. In the presence of the assembled dignitaries, the chiefs solemnly buried the hatchet and washed the war-paint from their bodies in token of a "peace that never should be broken".

Early governments of Nova Scotia attempted to regulate the relations between the Indians and the settlers by legislation. On July 17, 1752, a proclamation was issued forbidding acts of aggression against the Indians.

In 1760 the governor and council and the Indian chiefs settled upon a table of trading prices for furs. In 1760 and 1762 the assembly passed laws against private trading or fraudulent dealings with the Indians. In July 1762 a proclamation was issued to prevent encroachments on Indian lands.

### COLONIZATION OF QUEBEC (1608-1763)

In 1603 Samuel de Champlain made a voyage of exploration up the St. Lawrence River. The Iroquois who inhabited the region in Cartier's time had disappeared and so had the villages of Stadacona and Hochelaga. About 1,000 Algonkin, Montagnais and Malecite Indians welcomed Champlain's party and told him much about the country in the interior and the Great Lakes. As a result he determined to journey eventually in that direction with the hope of finding a water to the Orient.

In 1608 Sieur de Monts, who had been operating on the eastern coast, received a further one-year fur trading monopoly and Champlain persuaded him to take up trade on the St. Lawrence. That spring Champlain and Pont-Grave, one of De Monts' agents, set out with a small company of men. Pont-grave stopped off to trade with the Indians at Tadoussac but Champlain went on to Quebec where he built a "habitation", a combined fort, storehouse and residence.

In the spring of 1609 Champlain joined a party of Algonkian Indians in a raid against the Mohawk Iroquois living on the shores of the lake to which he gave his name. The Iroquois, encountering European firearms for the first time, were thrown into confusion. After three of their chiefs were killed they fled into the forest. Champlain attacked the Iroquois again in 1610, winning another victory and the undying enmity of the Indians in question.

In the late summer of 1610, on one of his temporary visits back to France, Champlain took a young Huron with him while a French youth, Étienne Brulé, stayed with one of the Algonkian chiefs. Brulé was

kindly treated, adopted Indian clothing, learned to speak the dialect and acquired much valuable information about the interior. The next year, Champlain sent out three more young men to learn the lay of the land, the Indian language and way of life. These young men were the first of many "coureurs de bois".

Keen rivalry soon arose between the Iroquois (comprising the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas) and the Huron Indians for control of the fur trade. The Hurons, who lived in the vicinity of Georgian Bay, wished to carry furs obtained from the Indians of the interior to the French traders, by way of the Ottawa and the lower St. Lawrence. The Iroquois, who inhabited the country from Lake Champlain to Lake Ontario, wished to take this trade through their own country to the Dutch and English settlements on the Atlantic coast to the south. Champlain allied himself with the Hurons because they controlled the most direct water route to the west, and with the Algonkian tribes of the St. Lawrence Valley, where he had his base of supply. The Iroquois, who sought to destroy the Huron nation and gain control of the fur trade routes, allied themselves with the English colonists from the Atlantic coast. After Henry Hudson's voyage up the Hudson River into the country of the Mohawks in 1609, Dutch traders settled at Albany. They also made friends with the Iroquois, to whom they subsequently gave guns and ammunition in return for furs.

The monopoly of the Canadian fur trade was granted in 1627 to the Company of New France (Company of the Hundred Associates), which was nearly ruined through the British seizure of Canada in 1629.

Upon the restoration of Canada to France in 1632, Champlain was made its first governor. At the time of his death in 1635, settlement was flourishing having spread along the St. Lawrence River. Three Rivers was founded in 1634. Montreal was founded as a religious settlement in 1642 by the "Society of Our Lady of Montreal" under the leadership of Sieur de Maisonneuve.

The further opening up of the country by missionaries and fur traders came as a renewed challenge to the Iroquois who coveted the role of middleman in the ever-increasing fur trade. They waylaid groups of Indians on their way down the Ottawa laden with furs for Montreal and attacked solitary settlers tilling their fields. In 1650. Invading Iroquois warriors forced 300 Hurons to flee for refuge to the little village of Lorette near Quebec. After they had completed the virtual destruction of the Hurons, the Iroquois directed their attention to the settlements at Quebec, Three Rivers and particularly Montreal.

In 1660 Dollard des Ormeaux, with sixteen comrades and a few friendly Indians, laid an ambush at the Long Sault in the Ottawa River and held off 500 Iroquois for five days and nights. Although all of the defenders lost their lives, their courage so impressed the Iroquois that they feared to press their attack against the strongly fortified Montreal.

Due to Iroquois depredations no furs came down the Ottawa River between 1650 and 1653. However, in the latter year three canoes of Hurons and Ottawas came down the St. Maurice to Three Rivers for the purpose of renewing trade relations. Two Frenchmen, probably Radisson and Des Groseilliers, accompanied the Hurons and Ottawas back to the Interior and made contact with new groups of western Indians including the Mississaugas and Ojibways. This led to a revitalization of the fur trade and the further westward expansion of French influence.

The Company of New France surrendered its charter in 1663 and in 1664 the monopoly of all trade in New France was given to the Company of the West Indies. Also in 1663, Canada achieved the status of a Crown Colony governed by a Sovereign Council. Settlers were sent out with stores and equipment and the Marquis de Tracy arrived with over 1,000 men and 100 officers.

The first task of the new administration was to neutralize the Iroquois. In the summer of 1666 de Tracy set out with 600 trained soldiers and 600 habitant volunteers to invade the Mohawk country to the south. Mohawk scouts gave warning and the Indians fled from the soldiers, who found only empty villages and heard mocking shouts in the distance. The soldiers destroyed the villages, burnt huge piles of corn and provisions and laid waste the countryside. The next summer the Iroquois sent ambassadors to Quebec and a peace was concluded that lasted nearly twenty years.

Approximately 2,000 settlers came to Canada between 1665 and 1672. The fur trade was revived and, with it, the prosperity of New France.



In 1667 the Seminary at Montreal granted to the French explorer La Salle a seigniory on Montreal Island where he laid out a fortified village later named Lachine. Here, Indians from Lake Superior and Lake Ontario drew up their canoes on the way to Montreal. As a result, La Salle acquired valuable information on the land and waterways in the interior and on some of the Indian dialects. He later was granted fur trading and travelling privileges and sold his seigniory to raise funds for a journey of exploration. His subsequent travels contributed greatly to the knowledge of the continent.

The practice of bartering brandy for the furs of the Indians caused much discord in the Colony. Bishop Laval attempted to stop the brandy traffic but the governor and intendant feared that without the sale of brandy the fur trade would fall into the hands of the English at Hudson Bay and they upheld the traders. Official France supported the latter view and the brandy traffic continued.

In 1670 the intendant, Talon, sent Father Albanel from Tadoussac to James Bay to establish French claims in that region and to challenge British claims to Hudson Bay. Sieur de Saint-Simon led the party up the Saguenay River, across Lake Mistassini and down Rupert River to James Bay. They entreated the Mistassini Indians to carry their furs to Quebec rather than to the British who were at Hudson Bay.

Henry Hudson had sailed from London in 1610, crossed Hudson Strait, sailed the length of Hudson Bay and entered and explored James Bay where he spent a harsh winter on the brink of starvation. One day in the following spring an Indian came from the forest to visit the strangers. Hudson gave the Indian a knife, a looking-glass, some buttons and a hatchet for which he received in return two beaver-skins and two deer-skins. This was the beginning of trade between the British and the Indians of the Hudson Bay region. Shortly afterwards Hudson's men mutinied and set him and his son adrift in an open boat. The mutineers kept the maps prepared by Hudson and the district was claimed in the name of England.

In 1668 a fur-trading expedition was sent out to the Hudson Bay region under the leadership of the Sieur des Groseilliers and Radisson, who had turned to the British for financial backing. The voyage was under the patronage of a number of wealthy Englishmen headed by Prince Rupert. The party reached the point on the Rupert River where Hudson wintered in 1610-11 and built Fort Charles strong enough to repel possible Indian attack.

Soon after the party's arrival a small band of Indians appeared. The Indians promised Groseilliers to bring back furs in exchange for presents and to tell other Indians about the traders. Groseilliers made many trips into the interior to visit various tribes. He asked them to come to the Bay to trade and as the British traders offered a good price, Indians began flocking to Fort Charles with their valuable pelts.

In 1670 Charles II granted a charter to the men who had sponsored the Hudson Bay venture. The name of the new company was "The Governor and Company of Adventures of England trading into Hudson's Bay" and Prince Rupert was its first governor. The Company was promised full control of the fur trade, with power to make laws, punish offenders, build forts and wage war. It was commanded to carry on exploration and continue the search for the northwest passage. The territory of the new Company included all regions which drained into Hudson's Bay. A monopoly of the gold, silver, and precious stones which might be found in the region was included with the right to trade in furs and fish.

The Company apparently dealt quite fairly with the Indians and gave them supplies when they were in need. In turn the Indians had confidence in the traders and rarely failed to repay their debts. Indians came from north, south, east and west, and within four years from the beginning of the new Company, thirteen different tribes were visiting the post.

Since the rulers of New France considered the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company were intruding on their territory, French traders felt free to intercept the Indians as they brought their cargoes down stream to the Company posts, inducing many of them to sell their furs. Subsequently the Company du Nord was formed by French Canada with the aim of destroying the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1686 a force under Chevalier de Troyes and D'Iberville captured Fort Charles and dismantled it. For the next twenty-seven years Hudson Bay and the surrounding country passed back and forth between French and English hands. However, the peace of Utrecht in 1713 finally awarded the territory to the

British and fur-trading in the Bay was soon resumed in full force. A fort built along the East Main River in 1685 was rebuilt in 1719 and remained the Company headquarters on the east coast of Hudson Bay until 1821.

During the Crown Colony period in New France the greatest governor was the Comte de Frontenac who took office in 1672. In 1673, with the co-operation of La Salle, Frontenac built a post at the outlet of Lake Ontario from which he could control the full length of the St. Lawrence, intimidate the Iroquois, divert the fur trade from the west down the St. Lawrence and prevent furs from reaching Albany. He held a council with the Iroquois which resulted in freedom from their interference for the ten years of his governorship. He was recalled to France in 1682 as a result of his stand on the brandy question, whereupon the Iroquois resumed their threats.

De la Barre, the next governor, was wholly ineffective in dealing with the Iroquois. In 1687 his successor, Denonville, invited some Iroquois chiefs to a feast at Fort Frontenac, seized them and sent as captives to France. This act precipitated a long war with the Iroquois, beginning with the massacre of more than 200 of the French inhabitants of Lachine.

Frontenac returned to New France as governor in 1689. Under his leadership a group of French raiders and their Indian allies attacked English border settlements in New York, New Hampshire and Maine. At the same time the Iroquois, supplied by the British and Dutch, continued their raids against the French settlements, particularly Montreal and Quebec. Fort Frontenac had been destroyed by Denonville but Frontenac rebuilt it and restored the colony's prestige with the western tribes. In 1696 he led an expedition into the territory of the Onondaga Iroquois and laid waste their territory. Continual fighting was weakening the power of the Iroquois and following the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, they no longer had British support. In 1701 the Iroquois made peace with New France at a great council in Montreal.

The Iroquois maintained their neutrality during the French-British struggle that followed and by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the sovereignty of Great Britain over the Iroquois, or "Five Nations", was recognized. The French were not to interfere with the Iroquois or with other Indians who were friends of Britain nor were the British to interfere with Indians who were subjects or friends of France. On both sides there was to be full freedom to trade with any Indian tribes.

Competition for the furs of the Indians was renewed. From England the Dutch and English traders obtained cheap, coarse cloth dyed scarlet and blue, and from New England they procured inexpensive rum. Both these products were held in high esteem by the Indians. On the other hand, the French had strong Indian allies in western Canada who brought in large quantities of furs in exchange for French goods.

Many Dutch and English merchants preferred to get their furs through the French traders rather than go into the interior after them, and a surreptitious trade was carried on between Albany and Montreal. The Christianized Indians who lived near Montreal acted as middlemen, exchanging French beaver furs for sugar, molasses and English woollen cloth, which in turn were smuggled into Canada for the Indian trade.

Ten years between 1744 and 1760 were years of struggle for empire between England and France. Both sides recognized Indian allegiance as an important factor in determining the final outcome. From the Indians' point of view, their support of either side was dependent upon considerations of trade, congeniality, and self-preservation, and the choice between French and British was not always easy to make. Hendrick, the famous sachem of the Mohawks, took a stick and threw it over his shoulder saying, "This is the way you have thrown us behind you...The Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are quarrelling about lands which really belong to us, and their quarrel may end in our destruction".

In general the British colonists were uncongenial to the Indians. They were farmers, ever expanding, and where they went they made settlements and displaced the Indians. Sir William Johnson was a notable exception, there being a mutual respect and affection between himself and the Indians. He always was fair with them in trade, he spoke their language, became a Mohawk war-chief and later the trusted



counsellor of all the Indians on the British side. At the same time he stood high in the confidence of the British authorities, becoming Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1755.

French officials honoured Indian chiefs at ceremonial pow-wows and the coureurs de bois were even more congenial, relishing as did the Indians the free forest life and often intermarrying with them. The degree of land settlement in Canada was another factor which tended to win Indian support for the French. There were only about 60,000 French settlers, mostly along the banks of the St. Lawrence, who appeared unlikely to expand into the hunting grounds of the Indians or threaten the existing order of things.

Neither French nor British were always honest in dealing with the Indians. Both resorted to the use of liquor to promote trade. Although a liberal distribution of presents helped bring some of the Indians to the British side, the French had a closer personal relationship with the Indians and deeper ties of friendship. More than anything else, it was probably this combined with a respect for French military power that led most of the Indians to take up the French cause.

In the spring of 1757 Indians from Acadia to the Mississippi and the Great Lakes flocked to Montreal to pay homage to their great war-chief General Montcalm. French agents had been active in the west all winter calling for Indian support and many of the tribes saw an opportunity to check the British settlers who were moving into their lands. As already stated, some of the Indians threw their support behind the British and in every major battle that ensued, Indian warriors were found on both the French and British sides.

Indians helped the French capture Fort William Henry which was surrendered with the honours of war. In the fort, the Indians caught smallpox, which was spread among the tribes, weakening their power.

By the Treaty of Paris in 1763 Canada passed into the hands of the British.

### **BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES (1763-1867)**

With the end of hostilities between Britain and France, there began a steady stream of farmers and fishermen from New England to Nova Scotia. There was also a large influx of Scottish and Irish settlers to the Province. In New Brunswick, New Englanders settled along the St. John River, large numbers of Acadians settled along the eastern coast and Scottish and English immigrants went to the northern and eastern areas. When Prince Edward Island (Île St. Jean) was officially ceded to the British in 1763, it was inhabited by a small number of Acadians and about 150 Indians. A number of Scottish Highlanders settled on the Island during the next twenty years.

After British power was firmly established in Nova Scotia, the Micmacs became peaceable and apparently friendly, adhering from the outset to their treaty promises. Chiefs and leading Indians went annually to Halifax to receive presents from the Government.

During the American Revolutionary War the position of the Indians was less certain and attempts were made by the American insurgents under Colonel John Allen to gain support from the Micmacs and Malecites. The Indians maintained a policy of vacillation, inclining first to one side, then to the other. This kept both sides continually on the alert, making every effort to win over the Indians with presents of ornaments, trinkets, powder, shot, clothing and other provisions.

The Hon. Michael Francklin, a former Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs, early in 1777, for the purpose of preventing the Indians of the province from attaching themselves to the enemy. He held this office until his death in 1782.

In the summer of 1778 the Indians sent a letter to Captain Studholme of Saint John, which virtually declared war on the British. The danger of an Indian uprising was averted, however, by the efforts of Michael Francklin and his deputy, James White. Aided by Father Bourg, a French missionary, they held a grand pow-wow with representatives of the tribes, both Malecite and Micmac, at Fort Howe. A large sum of money was spent on entertaining the chiefs and headmen and presents were made to them. On

September 24, 1778, a treaty was solemnly signed and the Indians took, upon their knees, oaths of allegiance to His Majesty, gave a belt of wampum, and went through all the ceremonies attendant on the proclamation of peace. On conclusion of the treaty, the Indians gave up the presents they had received from the American leader, General Washington, at the time of their threatened attack on the British.

After the Revolutionary War, thousands of United Empire Loyalists settled in the Maritime Provinces, greatly increasing the population. The Indians of New Brunswick were inclined to be hostile because they did not like the rapid progress of settlement which restricted the extent of their hunting grounds.

The Indians also threatened pioneer lumbermen who started work along the upper St. John River in 1779. The Indian Agent, Michael Francklin, sent a dispatch to Pierre Thomas, head chief of the Malecites, forwarding presents of blankets, clothing, powder, shot, rings and ribbons, and promising to protect the interests of the Indians in return for their acceptance of the woodsmen. The Indians apparently were satisfied and there was no further difficulty.

As early as 1765 a policy of providing the Indians with reserves of land had been introduced in the Maritime Provinces. In that year a reserve consisting of four acres of farmland, four acres for a church and 500 acres of woodland was set aside on the banks of the St. John River at St. Ann's for the Malecite Indians.

In 1773 the Executive Council of Nova Scotia issued a proclamation setting aside tracts of land for the use and benefit of the Micmac Indians and forbidding land negotiations with the Indians other than by governmental authority.

In 1779 a reserve, two miles square, was set aside on the Stewiacke River for the Indians of Shubenacadie and Cobequid.

Throughout the first half of the Nineteenth Century more and more of the Micmac and Malecite Indians began to settle on their reserves. At the same time there was some encroachment on the reserves by non-Indian settlers looking for land to develop. In 1852 the Nova Scotia Government enacted that the title to all lands reserved for the Indians in Nova Scotia was to be vested in the Commissioner of Crown Lands, whose duty it was to protect the rights of the Indians who wished to settle thereon. Under provision of the Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1864, the Commissioner was authorized to parcel out a portion of reserve land to each Indian family. He also was authorized, subject to approval of the Governor, to sell or lease to non-Indians portions of the reserves on which they already had settled. Capital funds from such sale or lease were to be held by the Government and the interest was to be used for the exclusive benefit of the Indians: relieving indigent and infirm Indians, promoting their settlement on reserve lands, and in procuring seed, agricultural implements and domestic animals, as the Governor might direct.

The Government of New Brunswick reserved land for the Indians at Canoose in 1851, and later erected the Edmundston and Tobique Reserves. Under the New Brunswick Revised Statutes of 1854, the Governor in Council was enabled to lease or sell reserve lands and use the annual interest for the exclusive benefit of the Indians, as in Nova Scotia. Authority also was given for designating parts of the reserves as village or town plots for the exclusive use of the Indians living in the counties in which the reserves were located. The plots were to consist of not more than fifty acres nor less than five acres. Where Indians resided on and improved such village or town plot for at least ten years, the Governor in Council could then make absolute grants of the land in question to the Indian residents.

In the course of time additional reserves were set apart for the Malecite Indians at Woodstock, Kingsclear, St. Mary's and Oromocto, all on the St. John River. Reserves for the Micmacs also were set apart at Fort Folly on the Petitcodiac River; Buctouche, Indian Island, and Richibucto in Kent County; Red Bank, Eel Ground and Burnt Church on the Miramichi; Pabineau and Indian Island on the Nipisiguit; Eel River near Dalhousie; and at the head of Chaleur Bay.

In Prince Edward Island a tract of 204 acres on the Morell River was granted about the year 1846 by a private owner to eight Indian families. In 1859 this tract was taken over by the Provincial Government



and conveyed to the then Indian Commissioners (appointed by an Act of Assembly) and their successors in office in trust for the Indians. Lennox Island, located at the northwest extremity of Malpeque Bay with an area of 1,320 acres, originally was vested in the trustees of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society as an Indian Reserve. The Society later surrendered the reserve in trust to His Majesty for the Indians. The Scotch Fort tract, located near the village of Scotch Fort on Prince Edward Island, also existed as an Indian Reserve before Confederation.

Following Confederation, the administration of Indian Affairs became the responsibility of the federal government and Indian reserves in the Maritime Provinces and elsewhere in Canada were conveyed to federal government in trust for the Indians.

### BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN QUEBEC (1763-1867)

When Canada was ceded to Britain all the Indians within the Province of Quebec were taken under the protection of the British Government. The 40th Article of the Capitulation of Montreal reads: "The Indians Allies of His Most Christian Majesty shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they choose to reside there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms and served His Most Christian Majesty; they shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries". King George III issued a Proclamation in 1763 confirming the Indians in the possession of their hunting grounds and in the protection of the Crown.

The British Government adopted the custom of distributing presents annually, chiefly clothing and ammunition, in an effort to conciliate the Indians, to ensure their services and supply their wants as warriors in the field, and, in peace time, to secure their allegiance to the Crown and their good will and peaceful behaviour towards the white settlers. The Indians maintained that the custom of giving annual presents had been commenced by the French Government to indemnify them for the lands they had given up.

During the hostilities between the English and French, the fur trade had fallen off, but after peace was made traders flocked north from the American Colonies with stores of barter goods and the fur trade entered a period of unrestricted competition and growth. The new traders, or "Montrealers", benefitted from the experience of the French. They went directly to the Indian camps with their goods for trade, thereby obtaining the best furs and keeping the Indians from making long journeys to the Hudson Bay posts. In 1784 the Montreal groups of partners and individuals operating in the northwest territories joined together to form the North West Company, becoming even stronger in their competition with the Hudson's Bay Company. Their canoe brigades set out from Montreal on journeys and explorations and returned laden with furs. The brigades dressed in colourful costumes, decked their canoes with flags, paddled to the rhythm of voyageurs' songs, and employed dramatic ceremony when presenting gifts to the Indians. The leaders of the Company, who had their headquarters at the Beaver Club in Montreal, were a hard-headed group of adventurous business men whose aim was to dominate and control the fur trade.

The Hudson's Bay Company, which had depended largely on the Indians bringing their furs to its posts on Hudson Bay, had to change its way of operations and began sending out explorers and trading and trading parties in large numbers. This tactic gradually weakened the hold of the North West Company on the interior. At the same time the Hudson's Bay Company had the advantage of direct water communication to England, which reduced transportation costs and enabled the Company to offer better prices to the Indians. As time went on the North West Company declined and in 1821 it was absorbed by its competitor.

The region around the Saguenay River was inhabited by the Montagnais Indians who were friendly to the white man but did not want settlement which, they knew, would interfere with the fur trade. Also, the Hudson's Bay Company regarded the whole region as part of its zone of operations. However, in 1810 the valley of the Saguenay was explored by wood-cutters who saw that the country was suitable

for farming. The first settlers went out in 1838 and in 1842 the country was opened officially for colonization.

Many veterans of Wolfe's army settled in the larger centres and the rural areas of Quebec after 1763 and at the close of the American Revolution, two groups of United Empire Loyalists settled at the mouth of the Richelieu River and in the Gaspé Peninsula. After 1791 the Eastern Townships were settled by immigrants from the United States and from the Scottish Highlands. As elsewhere in southern Quebec, increasing settlement brought about a slow decline of the fur trade and weakened the traditional Indian economy. At the same time, however, the Indians in the northern areas experienced little change and continued relatively undisturbed in their pursuits of fishing, hunting and trapping.

During the French regime many of the Indians in Quebec had been converted and collected into settlements by the Jesuits who received large grants of land from the French Crown for this service. Other lands had been granted directly to the Indians by the French Crown or by private parties, and still other parcels of land were recognized as having been settled on and claimed by the Indians from time immemorial. After the cession of Quebec most of these lands were confirmed to the Indians or their mentors under the principle established by the Proclamation of 1763.

The Seigniorship of Sault St. Louis (Caughnawaga) was granted to the Jesuits in 1680 for the Conversion, instruction and subsistence of Iroquois Indians. The Seigniorship remained under the management of the Jesuits until 1762 when it was vested in the Iroquois under the supervision of the Indian Department. The Iroquois residents were descendants of a group of Mohawk Indians who had originally occupied lands in the valley of the Connecticut and the Colony of New York. They had emigrated to Canada around 1650, settling first at La Prairie, and moving to Caughnawaga in 1680.

In 1796 the Iroquois of Caughnawaga ceded certain territories traditionally claimed by them to the State of New York. In return they received a small annuity which continued until commuted in 1848. Part of the proceeds were spent on their church, the balance being placed in trust at the Seminary of Montreal.

A number of the Caughnawaga Indians were employed as voyageurs and canoemen by the Hudson's Bay Company while others were occupied in rafting timber or acting as pilots on the St. Lawrence rapids. They also raised grain, and in the spring, manufactured maple sugar.

During the Rebellion of 1837-38, a band of rebels attempted a surprise attack on Caughnawaga on November 4, 1838. The Indians resisted and defeated the rebels, capturing seventy prisoners. This gallant defence was brought to the notice of the Queen who authorized a special issue of presents as token of her appreciation.

About 1755 a party of Indians from Caughnawaga had established a settlement on the south bank of the St. Lawrence River some distance upstream from their home village. The settlement became the seat of the Jesuit Mission of Saint Francis Regis and was later reserved for the Indians by the British Crown. When the border was fixed between Canada and the United States, it was found that the settlement lay on either side of the boundary line and since then, a part of the settlement has been under the jurisdiction of the United States authorities.

The settlement at St. Regis grew rapidly in population until 1832 when it was struck by an epidemic of cholera. The settlement soon recovered, however, doubling its population in the next twenty-five years. Like their Caughnawaga cousins, the St. Regis Indians worked for the Hudson's Bay Company or as raftsmen and river pilots.

In 1718 the Seigniorship of Two Mountains had been granted to the Montreal Seminary of St. Sulpice for the maintenance and instruction of the Algonquians of western Quebec and a number of Iroquois who, like their confederates at Caughnawaga, had emigrated from New York under the influence of the French clergy. The Seminary received an additional grant of land at Two Mountains in 1733. As the settlement of Quebec progressed, the Iroquois at Two Mountains took up agriculture or found summer employment



as pilots and raftsmen on the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers. On the other hand, the Algonkins continued to prefer a migratory life, hunting, fishing and trapping away from the Seigniorie for the greater part of the year. Finally, in 1853, a reserve of 45,750 acres was set apart for the Algonkins on the River Desert near Maniwaki where the people in question have since lived, engaging in the general economy of the area.

The Abenakis of St. Francis and Becancour came from the Alleghany Mountains in the State of Pennsylvania, emigrating to Canada about the time of its early settlement by the French. The lands of the former were located in the Seigniories of St. Francis and Pierreville, the grant being made for St. Francis in 1700 and for Pierreville in 1701.

The Abenakis of Becancour were granted the Seigniorie of Becancour in 1708, but in 1760, for a sum of money, they ceded their territory to Monsieur de Montesson, retaining only a few acres around their village and three small islands in the Becancour River. Around 1856 they were granted 14,000 acres near LaTuque on the St. Maurice River.

The village of Sillery was founded for Algonkin and Montagnais converts in 1637 and the Indians settled down to tilling the soil. In 1650 they were joined by some 300 Christian Hurons who had fled from their homes near Georgian Bay under attack by the Iroquois. The Hurons had been converted by the Jesuits, many of whom were martyred in the attacks. These Hurons hunted and fished and the women made moccasins and snow-shoes which they sold in Quebec City. Their descendants now reside at Lorette.

The Micmacs who lived in Quebec were gathered in Mission Point Village on the north side of the Restigouche River and also at New Richmond on the north side of Chaleur Bay. They were employed as axemen, raftmen and labourers in the saw mills.

In 1828 about thirty families of Malbicide Indians formed a settlement under government auspices on a branch of the River Verte where they received a grant of 3,000 acres in lots of 100 acres per family. The government supplied them with seed and other provisions and the Indians managed to clear and cultivate several acres of land each year.

On August 30, 1851, legislation authorized the setting apart of reserves for the use of certain Indian bands in Quebec. The reserves were to be described, surveyed and set out by the Commissioner of Crown Lands and to be vested in and managed by the Commissioner of Indian Lands for Lower Canada. The Bands in question included those already mentioned at Maniwaki and LaTuque. In addition, reserves were set aside in 1854 for the Algonkins and the Têtes de Boule of the St. Maurice River, both of whom lived wholly by hunting and fishing. Also, by Order in Council of September 6, 1856, a reserve was allotted to the Montagnais Indians at Pointe Bleue on Lake St. John. The latter Indians relied on fishing, hunting and trapping for their livelihood, selling their furs to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Steps were taken to protect the Indian lands. Trespassers on reserves were removed and fined, all legal proceedings being carried on in the name of a commissioner appointed for that purpose. The commissioner also was the trustee for all lands in Quebec held in trust for the benefit of the Indians in the Province.

With the sanction of the government, local agents were appointed by the bands to collect rents and other dues from the leasing of Indian lands. They also looked after the public money of the bands to which they were attached, and made disbursements therefrom upon the written orders of the chiefs. They were under bond to the government but received no salary except a percentage of the money received.

Indian land in Quebec could not be alienated from the band to which it belonged without the consent of the Crown. Each band member might choose any piece of land within the reserve of his band not already held by another to be cultivated for the support of his family. He could bequeath this land to his heirs or to any member of his band and if he expressed no wish on the subject, his heirs might take undisputed possession of the land.

Throughout the period of British administration in Quebec, the conduct of Indian Affairs passed through several hands. In 1755 Sir William Johnson was appointed by King George II as the first Indian Superintendent in the British colonies and after 1763 he also had charge of the Quebec Indians. Colonel Guy Johnson succeeded him in 1774, and in 1782, Sir John Johnson was appointed Superintendent General. This office was abolished on Sir John Johnson's death in 1828, the head of the Indian Department then being called the Chief Superintendent. In 1830 Indian Affairs was divided into two departments, one for Upper Canada and the other for Lower Canada, the latter placed under the Military Secretary at Quebec. From 1844 the Civil Secretary acted as Superintendent General under the Governor of the Province. From July 1, 1860 to July 1, 1867, Indian Affairs were administered by the Commissioner of Crown Lands. At Confederation, in 1867, the administration of Indian Affairs became the responsibility of the Federal Government.

## EARLY MISSIONARIES

### ROMAN CATHOLIC

Henry IV, King of France, insisted that the Indians of the New World be evangelized in return for the grant of trading privileges to the Sieur de Monts. De Monts, Huguenot, brought out a Roman Catholic priest and a Protestant minister to Acadia in 1604 and these were the first missionaries to come to Canada. The minister died during the winter of 1605-6 and the priest returned to France the following year.

In 1610 Abbe Fleche came over to Port Royal with Poutrincourt's expedition and since the Abbe knew nothing of the Indian language, Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt, instructed the local Chief Membertou and his family who were baptized on June 24, 1610. They were the first Indians in Canada to become Christians.

The Jesuit Fathers, Baird and Masse, arrived at Port Royal in 1611. In order to learn the language of the Indians, Father Masse went to live among them, staying in the tent of Louis Membertou, son of the aged chief. Father Baird remained at Port Royal, learning the language from a young Indian. The two priests composed a small Micmac catechism, baptized some adults and children, and generally succeeded in winning the confidence of the Indians. In 1613 they moved to the Penobscot River carrying on their work in that area.

Missionary work was begun on the St. John River in 1619 by a group of Recollet Fathers. Earlier in 1615, a group of Recollets had arrived at Tadoussac with Champlain. Father D'Oliveau, one of the group, remained with the Montagnais near Tadoussac and opened the first school in Canada where he lodged and fed Indian boys and taught them to read and write. However, this project was short-lived because the Merchant Company, fearing that domesticated Indians would cease to hunt for furs, gave it little support.

Father Jamay, another of the Recollets, went to Quebec where a friary was opened in 1621 for Indian boys and religious brethren. The Recollets secured a grant of 200 acres next to the friary and persuaded a number of Indian families to settle there.

In 1624 two members of the Recollet Order in Canada, Father Piat and Brother Sagard, returned to France in order to invite participation by the Jesuits in the missionary work on the St. Lawrence. The Jesuits responded by sending Fathers Lalemant, Masse and de Brebeuf and two lay brothers to Quebec in 1625. The Jesuits chose a site near that of the Recollets, put crops in the Mission's lands, and began to minister to the Indians.

When the colony at Quebec was in the hands of the English between 1629 and 1632, the missionaries had no choice but to return to France. After the colony was restored to France, the Company of the Hundred Associates refused to allow the Recollets to return to Canada on the pretext that the colony was too poor to support mendicant friars. However, the Jesuits were immediately able to send Fathers le Jeune and de Noue to Quebec in 1632. Father de Noue went with a hunting party of Montagnais into



the regions north of Quebec but returned after several weeks of extreme hardship suffering from starvation and broken in health. Father le Jeune joined a band of Indians on a hunting expedition in the wilderness south of the St. Lawrence where he concluded that the progress of evangelization would depend on settling the Indians in permanent villages.

Ville Marie was founded in 1642 on the site of the present-day Montreal by the Society of our Lady of Montreal and a hospital for the Indians and other residents was established in the community. In 1663 the community was placed under the Sulpician Order which assumed judicial rights and spiritual obligations in regard to its residents.

The diocese of Quebec was established in 1674 with Bishop Francois de Montmorency-Laval as its head. Bishop Laval originally had come to Quebec in 1659 and for many years had laboured in the interests of the Indians, particularly in opposing the use of liquor in the fur trade. Also, in 1668 he had founded a seminary which began work with eight French and six Huron pupils.

The Recollets returned to Canada in 1670 with Father Allard and four others. Bishop Laval furnished them with food and lodging for more than a year and gave them missions at Three Rivers, Ile-Perce, St. John River and Fort Frontenac.

An Indian chapel was erected at Medoctec in New Brunswick in 1717. As a royal gift, it received a small bell, now hanging in the belfry of the Indian church at Kingsclear. Father Loyard was the first priest to hold services in the Medoctec chapel, which stood for fifty years. When the Indians abandoned the village in 1767 the ornaments and furnishings were taken to Apohaqui and the chapel demolished.

A mission settlement was established at Caughnawaga in 1680, when Louis XIV of France granted the Seigniorship of Sault St. Louis to the Jesuits. Jesuit converts from the Iroquois Confederacy, principally Mohawk, took up residence at Caughnawaga. Accompanying the Iroquois were a number of Indians of various tribes who had been captured in raids and enlisted in the Iroquois bands. Some converts from the eastern Algonkian tribes also gathered at Caughnawaga.

The Iroquois mission town of La Montagne was founded on the Island of Montreal in 1676 by the Sulpician Fathers. It had a well-organized industrial school in the charge of the Congregation Sisters. In 1720 the mission was transferred to the Lake of Two Mountains on the Ottawa River where the Iroquois were joined by Algonkians.

The Mission town of St. Regis was founded around 1755 by Iroquois from Caughnawaga under Jesuit leadership.

The Jesuit Father Albanel was the first missionary to reach the remote region of north-eastern Quebec. In 1670 he accompanied Sieur St. Simon on an overland journey up the Saguenay River from Tadoussac, travelling for ten months before reaching James Bay near the mouth of the Rupert River. Father Albanel spent some time preaching and baptizing among the wandering Indians along the coast.

The Recollet Mission among the Micmacs and Malecites continued for at least fifty years. The most distinguished of these Recollets was Father Le Clercq. During the years between 1655 and 1665, when he was stationed at the Micmac mission at Gaspé, he created for the Micmacs a language system of hieroglyphic writing which still is in use.

After Louisburg fell to the British in 1745, the French missionaries in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia sought other fields. An exception was Father Maillard who continued to minister to the Micmacs and Malecites. These Indians had attempted to avenge their French allies and the missionaries by attacks on the British and the new government appealed to Father Maillard to use his influence to promote peace. His success in this effort was rewarded by a pension of 200.

After 1763, the Jesuit, Recollet and Sulpician Indian missions in Quebec declined in number. For example, in 1784 there were only two fully Indian missions with a resident priest, one at Caughnawaga and the other at Lorette. The Abenakis on the St. Francis River and the Iroquois at St. Regis were served by the nearest parish priest and the mixed congregation at Lake of Two Mountains was in charge of the Sulpicians.

In 1836 the Bishop of Montreal directed Fathers Brunet and Cannon to visit the posts on the upper Ottawa River and they went as far as Fort Coulonge. The same year Fathers Bellefeuille and Dupuis visited the Algonkians of Lake Timiskaming and these visits were kept up annually until 1845 when the missions were entrusted to the Oblates.

Bishop Guigues founded a mission at Maniwaki in 1851. It was taken over by the Oblates, who also served the Indians along the St. Maurice River and ministered at Hudson Bay from 1855 to 1865. In 1844 the Oblates were put in charge of the Indian missions of the Saguenay, which they served until they were replaced in 1911 by the Eudist Fathers.

At the time of Confederation the majority of the Indians of southern Quebec were members of the Roman Catholic Church with their own chapels or access to nearby village chapels.

## PROTESTANT

The first permanent Protestant missionary in eastern Canada was the Reverend Thomas Wood of the Church of England. Appointed to Annapolis Royal, he took an active interest in the Indians, learning their language and ministering to them whenever possible. In 1769 he visited the settlements along the St. John River and preached to the Indians travelling as far as the Indian village of Aukpaque a few miles above Fredericton.

Mission schools in the Atlantic Provinces were established after 1786 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, a missionary arm of the Church of England.

In Quebec, Dr. John Ogilvie, chaplain to the troops, accompanied the army of General Amherst and its Mohawk allies to Quebec and in 1760 took charge of the Anglican Congregation in Montreal. In 1793 Dr. Jacob Mountain was appointed Bishop of Quebec for the Church of England.

Beginning in 1852 the Reverend John Horden of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, who was stationed at Moose Factory, made missionary journeys to Rupert's House and to the inhabitants of the Whale River district. Some knowledge of Christian teachings already had reached this district from the Moravian Missions of Labrador. Later the Reverend E.J. Peck was placed in charge of the work at Whale River and in 1884 he and four Indians set out in a canoe for Ungava, arriving at Fort Chimo after a difficult journey of twenty-five days. They remained there preaching the gospel for three weeks.

Bishop Anderson had been consecrated the first Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1849. During his term of office, he made many missionary journeys to Rupert's House and Fort George. In 1865, he was succeeded by Bishop Machray who was in turn succeeded by Bishop Horden in 1872.

In 1827 the Canada Education and Home Missionary Society composed of Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists was organized in Montreal. The Reverend Silas T. Rand was educated in a Baptist seminary but after becoming a minister, he left that denomination to be an independent worker. He took particular interest in the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia and studied their language. In 1849 he organized a missionary society for their special instruction, working under its auspices until it was dissolved in 1865. He then worked independently until his death in 1889, teaching the Micmacs and studying their language and traditions. He was the author of a Micmac dictionary and a collection of tribal myths as well as numerous other works.

Organized missionary work in the Methodist Church dates back to 1824 when a Conference Missionary Society was formed and three missionaries were appointed to work among the Indians. The Reverend P.P. Osunkirhine served as a Methodist minister to his own people, the Abenakis of St. Francis without any salary for several years during which time many were converted to the Methodist faith. They had a place of worship accorded to themselves. A number of the Iroquois of St. Regis, Lake of Two Mountains and Caughnawaga became Methodists during the fifteen years prior to Confederation.



## CONFEDERATION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR MARITIMES (1867-1914).

In 1870 seven administrative districts for the supervision of the Indians were established in Nova Scotia, with a resident agent in each. Indian lands were thus protected from the type of encroachment that had taken place prior to Confederation. On January 26, 1872, twenty-four parcels of Indian land in various parts of the Province were fixed as reserves.

By 1880 a large number of Micmacs had modified their traditional life as nomadic hunters to congregate on reserves. One of the earliest permanent settlements was at Pictou. They had boats and other fishing equipment and were good at woodwork, but apparently disliked farming.

Small groups of Indians continued to live all over the province, working at hunting, fishing, making boats, canoes and Indian handicrafts. A favourite item of their diet was eel, which they served to the guests they most wished to honour. Gradually, many Indians became settled as prosperous and industrious farmers, while others worked as day labourers.

At the time of Confederation New Brunswick was divided into two districts for the purposes of Indian administration. The Southern District was inhabited by the Malecites, the Northern District by Micmacs. The government tried to persuade the small detached bands of Indians to settle in permanent locations and give up their migratory habits.

Hunting was becoming more difficult because the hunting grounds were diminished by settlements. The Micmac Indians found employment as guides and canoe men for tourists, and manufacturing of Indian handicrafts increased in importance. Fishing became the principal industry of Indians all along the coast of New Brunswick. The Malecites carried on agriculture at Kingsclear and St. Mary's Reserves. Indians of the other reserves manufactured baskets, moccasins and snowshoes, hunted fur-bearing animals and acted as raftsmen and canoe men on the Tobique and St. John Rivers. The demand for Indian tanned moccasins increased and many were employed in making snowshoes for an American firm.

In 1903, eighteen reserves were registered in New Brunswick.

The Prince Edward Island Indians worked at agriculture, made baskets, fished for cod in summer and gathered oysters in the autumn. Most of these Indians resided on the Lennox Island Reserve although a few families lived on the Morell Reserve.

## QUEBEC

At the time of Confederation large groups of Indians in Quebec occupied farms or village lots and were settled in permanent dwellings on the reserves. Their traditional hunting and fishing pursuits were becoming more difficult as wildlife fled north away from settlements and the drying of marshes along the St. Lawrence spoiled muskrat feeding grounds. Provincial fishery regulations prohibited the Indians from catching fish by spearing and the price of furs gradually went down. However, large numbers of the Indians of Quebec continued to subsist by hunting and fishing, rather than by cultivating the soil.

In 1882 the Indians at Caughnawaga held their first agricultural exhibition, which they decided to hold annually in order to stimulate interest in good cattle and the raising of livestock. The same year, some of them went north to work for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Also, in 1882, twelve young men from Caughnawaga spent three months in England playing lacrosse, on one occasion before the Prince of Wales and his family.

In 1885 many Caughnawaga Indians were employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway in the erection of a bridge across the river from Lachine to Caughnawaga. They showed exceptional aptitude and ever since then the Indians of Caughnawaga have been in great demand for high construction work. By 1900 many were working for the Iron Bridge Company and the Hydraulic Company at Lachine.

There were still many pilots, raftsmen and a few farmers among the Caughnawaga Indians. Others engaged in extensive manufacture of beadwork, lacrosse sticks and snowshoes. In 1903 several residents of Caughnawaga were making a good profit by selling patent medicines in Canada and the United States.

A tragedy occurred near Quebec in 1907, when thirty-three members of the Caughnawaga Band were killed by the fall of the Quebec bridge. By this time their skill was recognized in the iron and machine shops at Montreal and the iron structural work of large buildings and bridges.

The Iroquois of St. Regis became successful farmers, with numerous cattle, improved machinery and farming implements. Others worked as pilots and raftsmen along the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, and built up a prosperous industry manufacturing baskets. Like the Indians at Caughnawaga, they showed skill at structural steel work.

When moose, beaver and fish became scarce and legal restrictions were placed on hunting and fishing, it was necessary for the Hurons of Lorette to find other occupations. They were good businessmen, skilled at making moccasins, snowshoes and fancy articles. Outlets in the United States provided the largest market for their produce. In 1897 the discovery of gold in the Klondike awakened interest in the manufacture of moccasins and snowshoes. The largest local manufacturer at Lorette was Maurice Sebastien, one of the Huron chiefs. His business amounted to some \$40,000 annually, giving work to a large portion of the band for six months of the year. The industry fluctuated from year to year, however, depending on general economic conditions.

Although, a few families among the Abenakis of St. Francis still hunted at this time, game was becoming increasingly scarce. Their principal industry was basket-making and fancy work. They worked at handicrafts all winter and in June most of the families went to sell their wares at various summer resorts in the United States, especially along the Atlantic coast and in the White Mountains. Around the turn of the century they lost the long standing privilege of carrying their wares into the United States duty-free and this removed their most profitable market. Around the same time the establishment of a National Park in their area brought about restrictions of hunting and fishing and the Indians had to turn more attention to agriculture.

Restrictive fishing regulations and a decrease in game forced the Micmacs of Restigouche to turn to agriculture. They were also on the route to good salmon fishing grounds where the Indians could act as boatmen and guides to sportsmen.

Decline of the local moose population diminished hunting around Maniwaki. Three-fourths of the Maniwaki Reserve was occupied by timber limits and the cleared land was fertile and well adapted for agriculture, with good markets within easy reach. The Indians of this region were expert woodsmen and log drivers and large numbers worked as bush rangers and lumbermen. They also manufactured canoes, baskets, moccasins and snowshoes.

The Malecites of Cacouna, Rimouski and Riviere-du-Loup were unwilling to forsake their nomadic way of life. Although a reserve was set aside and houses built for them, they continued to wander from place to place for many years.

In 1895, reserves were set aside on the St. Maurice River for the Têtes de Boule, Algonkin and Abenaki Indians.

In early days the Montagnais lived in the interior of Quebec and came down the Saguenay River to trade at Tadoussac. They led a roving life and were good hunters and trappers. The Naskapis, a related people, lived north of Lake St. John to Hudson Bay. Around 1674 they came in large numbers to Tadoussac and intermarried with the Montagnais.

After Confederation, the Bersimis Branch of the Montagnais lived between the Bersimis River and Lake St. John. The group congregated at Seven Islands between May and July, by way of the Moise River. On the north coast Mingan, with its safe harbour and rivers abounding with salmon and sea trout, had been a favourite rendezvous of the Montagnais from time immemorial. Another group congregated at Natashquan, a good salmon stream.

St. Augustin's Bay was a favourite resort of the Naskapis, who came there from Hudson Bay and Ungava to camp around the post of the Hudson's Bay Company.



In 1881 extensive forest fires destroyed many Indian hunting grounds in the lower St. Lawrence area. The Indians had to return to the coast where the government provided relief. The government regularly sent out relief for the sick, aged and infirm Indians of that region and in difficult times forwarded warm clothing to the Hudson's Bay Company posts for distribution among widows and orphans.

The Montagnais of Mingan remained fur trappers but their trapping suffered about every three years when disease killed most of the rabbits in the area. Then martens and other fur-bearing predators found food scarce and left the area until the rabbits increased again. During such winters, the Hudson's Bay Company usually advanced supplies on the prospect of better trapping in the next season.

Fur trapping was the only occupation of the Indians at Bersimis. They went to their hunting grounds about the first of September and came out of the woods at the end of June. Some hunters left their families on the reserve to fish during the winter. They manufactured canoes in summer, as they needed new ones every second year. Skilful canoe-makers sold their produce at around twenty-five dollars for either birch bark or canvas models. The Indians had exclusive fishing rights along the Bersimis River, where they often took salmon of from thirty to forty pounds. A local trading store bought all the fresh salmon the Indians could catch during the summer months.

The chief occupations of the Pointe Bleue Band were trapping and farming. The trappers spent their winters in the forest, bringing back valuable furs in spring. In the summer they built bark canoes and made snowshoes, moccasins and mitts for their own use or for sale. The farmers worked hard and used up-to-date methods. When the farming season was over they became teamsters, guides or wood-cutters, going to the woods in winter to cut timber, floating logs in spring and, in the hunting and fishing season, acting as guides for sportsmen.

The Lake Mistassini Indians hunted otter, weasel, marten, beaver, muskrat and bear, exchanging the furs for provisions at the Hudson's Bay Company post. There was good fishing in all lakes and rivers of the region but the climate was too severe for farming.

## FIRST WORLD WAR TO THE PRESENT: MARITIME PROVINCES (1914-1967).

### NOVA SCOTIA

During the First World War every eligible man of the Micmacs of Sydney went to the front and all the other reserves in Nova Scotia sent a large proportion of men overseas.

The Indians who remained at home found employment in the various industries of the province, such as the coal mines, steelworks, munition works, railways and quarries. Many engaged in lumbering, cutting cordwood and stream-driving logs, while others worked as labourers.

Occupations grew more varied after the war and many farmed in summer, doing lumbering and industrial work in winter. In 1930, most of the Indians lived in houses of frame construction. Barns and storehouses also were of frame construction but there were not many barns as few Indians at that time were interested in the raising of livestock.

During the Second World War, a large number of Indians from Nova Scotia enlisted in the Armed Forces. They were honoured in 1943 when a new destroyer was christened H.M.C.S. Micmac. Special guests at the ceremony were five Indians of the Shubenacadie Agency, who wore colourful native costumes for the occasion.

In 1941-42 a centralization policy for the Micmacs of Nova Scotia was initiated. Its goal was self-support by the Indians, who at that time lived on twenty small reserves administered by twenty part-time agents. Sufficient land was purchased to move them all to two reserves located at Eskasoni and Shubenacadie. Sawmills were established on the Eskasoni and Shubenacadie Reserves for the purpose of supplying lumber and shingles for the new building program. Employment opportunities increased and the standard of living rose.







Micmac War Costume

Photo — Public Archives of Canada





By 1945, sixty houses had been built on the two reserves and the migration was started. Education, medical care and supervision were more effective under the new system and the Indians began to show more interest in cultivating gardens and raising fowl and livestock. These pursuits were assisted by various means and sawmills, house-building and lumbering provided employment for many.

A handicraft shop was opened at Truro to cater to the tourist trade. Homemakers' clubs made hospital clothing from material supplied by the Department. Community stores at Shubenacadie and Eskasoni were staffed by Indians and financed by revolving fund loans.

A leadership training course was held at Shubenacadie Reserve in 1956. Courses were held there each successive year until 1960, when a folkschool was organized for the Indians of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under the joint sponsorship of the Indian Affairs Branch and the two provincial departments of education. This school, which included a number of courses on social leadership and individual development, was held at Kennetcook, near the Shubenacadie Reserve.

In 1957 the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, with financial assistance from the Indian Affairs Branch, embarked on an intensive program of community development among the Indians of Cape Breton Island. This continuing program covers such subjects as leadership, band management, financial aspects of home and band affairs, and other studies designed to develop the Indian community and its residents.

In 1958 the Indians of Nova Scotia were divided into eleven new bands with a corresponding allocation of lands and trust funds. Eight bands voted to come under the elective system and elections were completed. All the councils took an active part in band government and made wise use of the band funds. All occupied reserves were electrified and served by paved highways.

In 1960 many Indians were engaged in seasonal employment such as in the berry and potato fields of New England and the Christmas tree industry. A group from Shubenacadie was employed at the Department of Transport air terminal at Kelly Lake. Basketry and crafts supplemented the income of others.

During the year, councils showed increased interest and activity in administration of their reserves. The house-building program continued, the Indians contributing labour. On Sydney Reserve a new water and sewer system was completed and the home owners installed plumbing. The system is operated by the city of Sydney and the Indians pay prevailing water rates. Work continued on the water system on Eskasoni Reserve, the band contributing money from the funds and labour to the project.

An employment placement officer was appointed in the region, a survey of labour forces was carried out, and a number of Indians were placed in jobs.

## NEW BRUNSWICK

A large proportion of the New Brunswick Indians enlisted during the First World War. The Indians who remained at home engaged in fishing, hunting, trapping and farming. Many did lumbering in winter, worked in sawmills in summer and at river driving in the spring. They supplemented their income by making baskets, moccasins and other Indian wares.

The depression fell severely on the Indians of New Brunswick because they lived close to the community at large and were affected by the general lack of employment. Whenever possible, needy Indians were provided with work such as road repairing, ditch digging, building and other reserve activities. Direct relief also was provided when necessary.

Indian houses in general, were small and of poor construction. A housing program was started to provide new houses or assist in the repair of existing ones.

During the 1930's the scarcity of fur-bearing animals caused the almost total decline of trapping and hunting. The Indians had no special privileges in respect to provincial game laws.

During the Second World War, many Indians from New Brunswick enlisted in the Armed Forces. Many others worked in the steel industry, on farms and in lumber camps, thus improving their economic condition.

In 1946, a farm adjoining the Kingsclear Reserve was bought in order to encourage Indians to raise livestock and to make it possible for Indian soldiers to qualify for grants under the Veterans' Land Act. Fourteen new houses, with cement foundations and brick chimneys, were built under these grants. In connection with the building program, a shingle mill established on the reserve that year cut 150,000 feet of timber, mostly cedar. A herd of goats was brought to the reserve for distribution to needy Indians in the province.

In 1950 electric power was provided to all homes in the village of Tobique and to three reserves in the Miramichi Agency. A new water system was installed at Tobique, providing water to all homes and public buildings, with hydrants for fire protection. These developments provided work for many Tobique residents. A water system at Kingsclear Reserve was completed in 1959, providing some employment.

In 1959, most of the Indians of New Brunswick were engaged in seasonal employment. In the spring they cut and planted potatoes in Maine, and later picked berries, peas and beans. In the fall, potato picking occupied many who returned to their reserves to work in lumbering operations throughout the winter. During the fishing season, which began in May, they caught lobster, smelt and gaspereaux, a small herring-like fish. For three weeks in the spring, many in the St. John River valley were engaged in picking fiddleheads, which are edible ferns.

The first social leaders' course for Indians in the Maritimes was held in 1954 at Eel Ground Reserve. Courses were held annually in the province until 1960, when Indians of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia attended a joint folkschool.

#### PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

During the First World War, thirty out of sixty-four adult males of the Indians of Prince Edward Island enlisted in the Armed Forces, distinguishing themselves particularly in the battle of Amiens. The returned soldiers wished to acquire land and cultivate it, although some engaged in fishing. Some of the Indians engaged in basket-making, for which it was necessary to import ash from New Brunswick.

The Indians of Prince Edward Island lived in small frame houses and a housing program was carried out during the 1930's.

In 1942 part of the reserve at Lennox Island was set apart for the production of Welsh willow, in the hope that a permanent supply of willow canes might be produced for basket making.

During the Second World War twenty-seven Indians from Prince Edward Island enlisted in the Armed Forces. After the war, a housing program was carried out on the Lennox Island Reserve, for which Indians did all the carpentry work. Nine houses, with cement foundations and brick chimneys, were built in one year.

Toward the end of the war, agency buildings were constructed on Lennox Island and a full-time agency staff took over administrative duties that previously had been undertaken on a part-time basis.

A resident priest moved to the Reserve and nuns from the community of St. Martha occupied the new school building and provided teaching and nursing services.

Throughout the 1950's many of the younger men and women migrated to the New England States to seek employment in industrial centres. For this reason, the Indian population of Prince Edward Island remained static, although health was good and there was a high birth rate.

In 1955, electricity which had been supplied in limited quantity for several years by a diesel plant, was brought to the Reserve from the mainland.

In 1959, most of the Indians of Prince Edward Island residing on reserves lived at Lennox Island, where they engaged in fishing and made baskets and lobster-trap hoops. From June to September a number fished oysters for non-Indian lease holders and one Indian operated his own lease. They also fished for lobster, smelt and clams. Many went to Maine to pick berries and potatoes.





Indian Fishing Camp

Photo — Public Archives of Canada



Pointe Bleue Indian woman making snowshoes.



## FIRST WORLD WAR TO THE PRESENT: QUEBEC (1914-1963).

During the First World War many Quebec Indians distinguished themselves in the Armed Services. Captain John Stacey of Caughnawaga went overseas as a lieutenant, was promoted shortly to the rank of captain and transferred to the Royal Flying Corps. A flyer of exceptional promise, he was killed accidentally before the end of the war. He had been a successful customs broker in Toronto and did much to recruit Iroquois into the Armed Forces.

Sergeant Clear Sky of Caughnawaga was awarded the Military Medal for an act of heroism. Noticing a wounded man, whose gas mask had become useless, lying in "no man's land" during a heavy gas attack, Sergeant Clear Sky crawled through the poisonous fumes and placed his own gas mask on the wounded man, thus saving his life. He himself was severely gassed as a result of this action. Sergeant Clear Sky was a graduate of Carlyle Indian University in the United States and professional vaudeville entertainer in civilian life.

Pte. Philip McDonald of St. Regis won distinction as a sniper. He was killed in action after having destroyed forty of the enemy by his sharpshooting.

The fur trade no longer was important during the First World War, but lumber was in great demand. The large amount of timber around Bersimis and Escoumains provided employment in the woods, the sawmills and in loading pulpwood on transport vessels.

Indians from St. Regis, Caughnawaga and Lake of Two Mountains found employment in the munitions factories.

After the war the Indians of Caughnawaga returned to steel construction work, at which they were recognized as exceptionally skilful and earned good wages.

Indians resumed the making of baskets and other Indian wares, which had been interrupted by the war. Much of the output was sold in the United States.

For a number of years the Indian Affairs Branch held an Indian Exhibit at the Central Canada Exhibition, Ottawa, in which the handiwork of Indians of different reserves was shown. A canoe-maker and his wife from Maniwaki made a 12-foot birch bark canoe during the week. Three Huron Indians from Lorette made snowshoes, moccasins and fancy slippers. A display of sweetgrass basket work by the Abenakis of Pierreville occupied a third booth.

## CONSERVATION

Indians were natural conservationists of the game and fish on which they had subsisted since time immemorial. Each Indian family possessed, and handed down from generation to generation, hunting grounds on which other Indians did not generally encroach.

Fur-bearing animals, especially after development of the fur trade, usually were considered the exclusive property of those who hunted the area. However, provision was made for the welfare of band members whose hunting ground were unproductive due to cyclical fluctuations of fur-bearers, forest fires or other calamities. They could apply to the tribal assembly for temporary use of other hunting grounds until their own area returned to productivity.

In addition to this system of land the Indians had, and still maintain where conditions permit, beaver conservation schemes. One of these was to deliberately leave breeders in each beaver colony. If, for instance, six beavers were in a lodge, two or three were trapped and the remainder left to repopulate the same colony.

Intrusion of non-Indians disrupted this satisfactory program of conservation in three important ways.

First the fur trader, in his unrelenting quest for furs, and through his debt system, forced Indians to bring in more and more pelts without regard for the remaining supply.

The opening up of the country by farming, mining, lumbering and all the various developments of modern civilization inevitably encroached on hunting grounds and drove wild animals away from settled regions.

Another major factor was the roving trapper. A free agent with no long-term interest in any hunting area, he took all the animals possible then left the trapped-out territory for similar operations elsewhere.

Various steps have been taken by Federal and Provincial Governments and by interested persons to safeguard the rights of Indians and to encourage them in their conservation practices.

A pioneer in modern beaver conservation was J.S.C. Watt, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company at Rupert House in the James Bay area. Having witnessed the gradual depletion of beaver, he purchased from the Indians the last two beaver lodges remaining in the area in the 1920's and negotiated successfully with the Government of Quebec for a fifteen-year lease on an area of 7,000 square miles. The area was closed to trapping until the annual increment of beaver was sufficient to maintain trapping at a profitable level without depleting the beaver population. The Hudson's Bay Company took over Mr. Watt's operation and continued his conservation practices until 1961, when the company preserves reverted to the Quebec Government. The Quebec Government in 1928 set aside an area of 6,300 square miles as the Grand Lake Victoria Indian Hunting Preserve and a further 4,000 square miles in the Abitibi area. Other conservation projects followed at Rupert House, Nottaway, Vieux Comptoir, Fort George, Pontiac, Mistassini, Roberval, Bersimis and Saguenay. Altogether there were, by 1962, twelve preserves for beaver in Quebec, covering a total of almost 323,000 square miles.

The conservation program in Quebec consists of determining the boundaries of band areas and dividing each area into family areas. The head of each family is appointed tallyman for the purposes of keeping a census of beaver, and age specifications for the catch are set and supervised.

An example of the benefits of conservation is provided by the Nottaway Preserve, in which the value of the beaver on this preserve increased from \$17,850 in 1938, the year the program began, to \$447,300 in 1945, the income increasing each successive year.

In addition to organizing conservation and enlisting support of the Indians, Indian Affairs experts taught proper techniques for treating and handling furs, thereby increasing saleability and prices generally.

The total income from furs trapped by Indians in Quebec was approximately \$245,000 in 1961-62. To this value should be added the beaver meat, which is used for food and other wildlife which also increased in the areas under conservation.

A medical patrol was instituted along the Transcontinental Railway in northern Quebec around 1925 because the Indians of that region were nomadic. The doctor taught them much about healthful living and vaccinated them against smallpox.

In the 1930's, most Indian houses in the older settled districts of Quebec were of good construction. In the more remote districts, where hunting and trapping were the principal occupations, the Indians lived in tents most of the year.

Handicrafts projects were organized with considerable success in the eastern reserves, particularly at St. Regis, Pierreville and Caughnawaga. A sample room and warehouse were established at Ottawa to ensure a continuous supply to the wholesale and retail trade. In 1942 plantations of willow were started at Pierreville, St. Regis and Maria Reserves to replace ash, previously used for basket making, which had become very scarce. Willow baskets proved stronger and more durable than ash baskets, but the supply of willow could not be maintained.

In the Second World War, more than three hundred Indians from Quebec enlisted in the Armed Forces. The production of basketry, handloom weaving, wood carving and other handicrafts declined steadily due to the number of Indians employed in essential war industries. A number of girls, who were expert weavers, inspected materials for parachutes and cloth for army clothing. The salmon industry at Bersimis was reorganized and an eel fishing operation was begun.



A housing program was carried out after the war. At some locations, the Indians manufactured their own lumber at sawmills which were established at Restigouche, Manuan, and other reserves.

In 1947, a program to promote expansion of farming activities was organized on reserves containing good farming land such as at St. Regis, Oka, Maniwaki, Pointe Bleue, Restigouche, Timiskaming, Pierreville and Caughnawaga. Farm machinery was purchased and machinery sheds erected on the Maniwaki and Temiskaming Reserves. The equipment was for common use and paid for out of band funds. Farming Indians were advised to join farm co-operatives.

A handicraft project was begun at Seven Islands in 1949; the women made seal mitts, purses and slippers, while the men built new houses, a garage and a warehouse. The next year all able-bodied men found work with the new mining industry in the vicinity.

In the 1950's, refrigeration units were installed in northern Quebec to help Indians preserve surplus meat and fish.

The Natashquan and Romaine Reserves were purchased from the Quebec Government in 1953 and an addition was made to the Lorette Reserve with money paid to the band for a right-of-way for water pipes to Quebec City. In 1955 Abitibi Indians purchased a reserve through band funds. Another sawmill was erected at Obedjiwan and during the summer nearly a million feet of lumber was sawn and left to season for future Indian housing programs.

During the Second World War, the building of an air base at Fort Chimo on Ungava Bay attracted the Naskapi Indians from Fort Mackenzie. When employment there ceased, they returned to their trapping grounds where, in addition to trapping, they fished for salmon and Arctic char. The fish was flown out and sold fresh on the market.

A placement officer was appointed at Quebec in 1957 to establish qualified Indians in suitable employment and to help them integrate into non-Indian communities. There also is a teaching program to train Indians for employment.

Indian artists, actors, singers and dancers from Lorette have won public recognition for their talents displayed in television and radio performances.

Sturgeon fishing was promoted around Waswanipi, Lake Victoria, and James Bay with the help of an instructor and a specialist hired by the Indian Affairs Branch, and by the construction of ice houses to preserve the catch.

Mining in Abitibi provided employment for many Indians in the district and the construction of a road and railway between Abitibi and Lake St. John provided communication between formerly isolated Indian reserves and their sources of employment.

## EDUCATION

In the early years of the nineteenth century the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick obtained a grant from the Crown for the education of Indians. Also, the Legislative Assembly voted £50 annually for a teacher.

In Quebec, the earliest attempt at Indian education was establishment of a school by the Jesuits of Lorette. The school was carried on the Indian Department. From twenty to forty pupils irregularly attended the school which had a Huron Indian schoolmaster.

In 1826 the Society for Promoting Education and Industry in Canada, with the sanction of Lord Dalhousie, opened schools at Caughnawaga and Lorette. They were successful for only a short time.

In 1829 Sir James Kempt, Administrator of Lower Canada, authorized expenditures for the education of six Indian boys at the English school under the direction of Mr. Charles Forest at Chateauguay. The experiment was so successful that in 1834 Lord Aylmer, who succeeded Sir James, increased the number of Indian pupils to twelve, the expense of their board and education being borne by the government.

The course of study included reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography and some of the Indian graduates became competent schoolmasters.

In 1835 English teachers of the Roman Catholic denomination were appointed to conduct Indian schools at Caughnawaga and St. Francis. The Gentlemen of the Montreal Seminary, at the suggestion of Lord Aylmer, Sir James' successor, opened an English school for Indian children at Lake of Two Mountains. It was attended by eighty boys for a short time but soon ceased operations.

The same year, Mr. Eleazer Williams, son of an Indian of Caughnawaga, who had been educated in the United States, was appointed schoolmaster at St. Regis. A society in English donated £100 towards the support of the school and a society in New York donated books, money and clothing to the amount of £100 collected by private subscription. The government allowed an annual salary of £24 to the teacher. The school was attended by from seventeen to forty pupils remaining in operation for only a short time.

By 1844 the only school in which the teacher was paid from government funds was that at Lorette, where the instruction and books paralleled those of other Quebec schools and twenty-five pupils attended.

Little progress was made in Indian education during the succeeding fifteen years but by 1858 the Caughnawaga school had reopened with an attendance of thirty-eight pupils. The Provincial Legislature had set aside an appropriation of \$200 per annum for the support of a school at St. Regis but no school was established. There were two mission schools at Lake of Two Mountains, one for girls, the other for boys and a model farm was established under the direction of the Seminary at Montreal. The Hurons of Lorette also had a school for boys and one for girls supported by a special grant from the Provincial Legislature. The Abenakis of St. Francis and the Micmacs of the Restigouche built schoolhouses partly by their own efforts and partly through aid from the provincial government. Some of the Indian children from Maniwaki attended integrated schools.

After Confederation, Indian schools conducted by various religious denominations came under federal jurisdiction and income hitherto contributed by private individuals or companies was supplanted by government grants to the maximum of twelve dollars a year for each pupil.

Indian children in the Maritime Provinces often attended the common schools. The development of separate Indian schools was a gradual process. In 1868 increased grants were requested for the purpose of establishing and maintaining Indian schools. In 1874 a school house was completed at Eskasoni and another at Lennox Island, a large proportion of the funds being furnished by the government.

A school was established at River Desert near Maniwaki in Quebec in 1868 and larger salaries were paid to the teachers at Caughnawaga, St. Regis and Lorette. In 1875 there were two schools at the Lake of Two Mountains, one maintained by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, the other by the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

In 1879 schools were erected and opened at Burnt Church and Tobique in New Brunswick and at Whycocomagh, Bear River and Pictou in Nova Scotia. The school on the Lennox Island Reserve, supported entirely by government funds, was opened first in 1873.

By 1885 there were only fifteen schools for Quebec Indians although there were seventy-one reserves in the province. The government was ready to supply the school building and teacher as soon as a sufficient number of pupils could be found to form a school on any reserve. The largest school was at Caughnawaga with an average attendance of 86 pupils.

Good teachers were unwilling to go to outlying schools and attendance was irregular at day schools in those areas where the Indians were nomadic and depended on hunting and fishing for subsistence. By the turn of the century there were seventeen Indian schools in Quebec, eleven in Nova Scotia, six in New Brunswick and one in Prince Edward Island. In the Maritime Provinces, many Indian children attended public day schools near their communities.

In 1909 a program for the development and improvement of Indian day schools was commenced. This was particularly important in the four eastern provinces where no Indian residential schools were as yet established. The salaries of teachers were increased and the schools were made more attractive.



In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, many of the Indians still wandered from place to place, selling their baskets or camping near towns to do odd jobs for the residents. This made it difficult for their children to go to school regularly although on the more settled reserves day schools were established successfully.

There was even greater diversity in the way of life of Quebec Indians. In the older and more settled communities, such as Pierreville, Lorette and Caughnawaga, many Indians were so ambitious that it was necessary to go beyond the limits of the day school education and give additional assistance to enable them to attend colleges. The Northern Indians, still relying on trapping and hunting, were remote from established schools. For their convenience, summer schools were established at certain points for a few months each year.

Since there were no Indian residential schools in Quebec, orphan children, or children neglected by their parents, were placed in institutions established for the non-Indian community. Around fifty Indian children were maintained and educated in this way each year and the associations and training in such schools proved very beneficial to the children. The Department allowed a per capita grant for the maintenance of these children.

School gardens were inaugurated in 1911. They were especially successful at Congo Bridge and Restigouche in Quebec, Sydney in Nova Scotia and Tobique in New Brunswick. The pupils of some of the schools engaged in horticulture received prizes for their produce in competition with the surrounding communities.

The Department allowed a per capita grant for students who attended institutions of higher education and in 1914 there were students in attendance at McGill University, Grand Ligne Mission, Levis College, Quebec Seminary, Nicolet College, Dartmouth College, St. Laurent College, Aylmer Convent and Lachine Convent in Quebec, and in the Maritime Provinces at St. Dunstan's College, St. Joseph's University and Carleton Convent. The Indian day schools corresponded to the provincial public schools in providing the preparatory training needed to qualify pupils for secondary education. They strictly followed the course of studies prescribed for the provincial public and separate schools.

In 1921 salary schedules for teachers were raised. This helped secure better qualified teachers. Around 1920 the Indian Act was amended to provide for compulsory school attendance of all physically fit Indian children from seven to fifteen years of age. This, together with an awakened interest in education by parents generally, led to an increased enrollment in the day schools.

Government policy became one of closer supervision, better qualified instructors, more intensive vocational training and better buildings. In line with this policy, a large brick school building on a par with a good public school building in a city was erected at Caughnawaga. A site with an adjacent farm was purchased in Shubenacadie for an Indian residential school and a staff was engaged. It was intended that this institution would provide academic and vocational training and also maintain orphans and neglected children in the Maritime Provinces. The school was opened in 1930.

In 1933, the Department recognized a residential school which was conducted under the auspices of the Church of England at Fort George, Quebec. This school was destroyed by fire in 1942 but was rebuilt by the Church two years later. It was subsequently taken over by the Federal Government and now operates as a federal institution. In August, 1962, a contract was awarded to replace the existing building with a modern fireproof structure for an enrollment of 130 pupils. A residential school operated at Fort George by the Roman Catholic Church also was allowed a per capita grant beginning April 1937.

Courses of study were planned with special regard to the actual requirements of Indians in adulthood. Day schools were planned to meet the specific needs of the various reserves on which they were established, thus to become the centres of their respective communities, offering guidance and instruction. Pupils were encouraged to take up such vocational courses as agriculture, auto mechanics and domestic science. Classes in handloom weaving were commenced at Caughnawaga and woven ties, scarves and shopping bags were produced and easily marketed.

In 1939 provision was made for some Indian day schools to teach first-year high school. Tuition grants continued for Indian students attending universities, normal schools, technical schools and business colleges.

At the beginning of the 1950's, training for the blind, deaf and otherwise handicapped was provided in special schools usually operated under provincial auspices.

In line with a recommendation made by a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs in 1948, the policy of having Indian children educated in association with non-Indian children was given prominence in educational planning. Wherever possible, in consultation with the Indian parents and by agreement with the local educational authorities, arrangements were made to have the children attend non-Indian schools.

This was accomplished by having small groups of children enrolled in local public and private schools with the Federal Government paying tuition costs and by agreement with provincial school boards for the establishment of joint schools for Indian and non-Indian pupils. The Federal Government shared the cost of construction and operation of the latter on a pro rata basis. This program of integrated education has been a significant development in broadening the outlook of Indian children and in fitting them to participate actively in the Canadian community of which they are a part.

Residential schools were established at Seven Islands in 1952 and at Amos in 1956. In 1957 a system of financing residential schools was introduced under which the Department pays the actual cost of operating the schools within certain limitations. This system permits the establishment and maintenance of standards of supervision, food, clothing and accommodation throughout all the schools.

Homemakers' Clubs were established on many reserves and courses in sewing, cooking, weaving and hat designing were given by technicians from the Quebec Department of Agriculture, while courses in First Aid were given by nurses attached to the provincial Public Health Service. One club organized a public library and two others contributed to the purchase of playground equipment for children. Courses in handicraft were given at Bersimis, Maniwaki, Seven Islands and Restigouche in Quebec.

Band councils were encouraged to conduct their own meetings, appoint band secretaries and help administer such local matters as welfare housing and relief assistance.

The Tobique Band in New Brunswick had a Homemakers' Club; a men's club, responsible for fund raising activities for varied local needs; a ladies' club which organized social events and assisted needy families and a welfare committee.

By 1960, about twenty percent of the pupils attending schools in New Brunswick and twenty-five percent of those in Nova Scotia were in non-Indian schools.

Through the joint efforts of the Indian Affairs Branch and the Nova Scotia Department of Education, evening classes in carpentry and home economics were conducted for adults at Eskasoni. Arrangements also were made with a technical school in New Glasgow for young Indians to train in the carpentry and and machinist trades.

The children of Lennox Island, Prince Edward Island, attended the two classroom Indian day school, while the Indian children in other parts of the Province attended non-Indian schools, Indian students from all the Maritime Provinces were in attendance at various universities.

Since World War II there has been a steady increase in the number of Indian children attending school. The number taking secondary education, vocational and professional training also has risen steadily. A growing number of teachers at Indian schools is of Indian status. Adult education is becoming more prevalent as evinced by the large number of Homemakers' Clubs and Leadership and Training Courses which play a major part in the advancement of the respective communities. Indians take an increasing interest in education and band councils have authority to form school committees of band members eager to participate in the operation of their local schools and to encourage scholastic achievement generally. The accelerated interest in Indian education is a promising indication of future progress.



### POPULATION

The first available census figures for Quebec Indians are those of December 1836 which show a population of 3,057 persons. This estimate takes into account only the Indians who lived around the St. Lawrence River and in the southern part of the province and leaves out those Indians who lived in the interior and in the far north. The estimate of 10,804 is more realistic. By January 1, 1967, the Indian population in Quebec was 24,448.

The first census figures for the three Maritime Provinces are more accurate because there has been no change in that area of any of the provinces and there were no unexplored regions at the time of Confederation. The first figures for Prince Edward Island show an Indian population of 323 in 1873. The number fluctuated very little in the ensuing years, the population as of January 1, 1967 being 394, the largest number ever recorded for this province.

In 1871 there were 1,626 Indians in Nova Scotia, all of Micmac stock, while in New Brunswick there were 1,462 Micmac and Malecite Indians. The Indian population of Nova Scotia was 4,102 by January 1, 1967 and that of New Brunswick was 3,808, both provinces having shown a gradual increase over the years.

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